

**PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON QUESTIONS PRESENTED FOR
CONSIDERATION AT THE CONFERENCE WITH PARTICIPATION OF THE
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT**

On January 8, 1958, the Soviet Government presented for consideration by other Governments its concrete proposals on questions for reducing international tension. These proposals provide that a conference of leading officials of states on a high level with the participation of the Heads of Government discuss questions, the settling of which would assist the relief of international tension and the creation of trust in the relations among states.

The Soviet Government as before considers that a series of pressing international problems can be solved already at the present time. It maintains the position of the necessity and possibility of achieving agreement among the states on unsettled questions of international relations. The Soviet Union cited on its part a series of such questions and is prepared to participate in the consideration of other problems which could be proposed by the participants in the conference at the Summit provided that these questions enter into the competence of the international conference and are directed toward strengthening peace.

The Soviet Government is firmly convinced that if the Heads of Government resolutely resolve to devote their efforts to seeking mutually acceptable solutions for the pressing international problems, then it is possible to say with certainty that the forthcoming conference at the Summit will assure a necessary turning point in the development of relations among states in the direction of the normalization of the entire international situation and the liquidation of the "cold war".

Taking into account the exchange of views which has taken place on the question of convoking a conference on the Summit and seeking to assist the completion of the preparatory work for this conference in as short a period as possible, the Soviet Government on its side presents for consideration at the conference the following questions and simultaneously sets forth some considerations about them:

CONFIDENTIAL

State Dept. declassification instructions on file

SOVIET AGENDA PROPOSALS

1. About the urgent termination of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

of

Termination of the tests/all types of atomic and hydrogen armament is a pressing and in practice solvable problem. Universal termination of tests of this armament would have beneficial consequences for strengthening the cause of peace and terminating the further armaments race. Agreement on this question would be a definite obstacle to creating new, still more destructive types of atomic and hydrogen weapons and would be a practical step on the road to complete prohibition of this weapon of mass destruction.

The necessity for an urgent solution of this question is dictated also by the fact that the continuation of tests of atomic and hydrogen armament, as the most important scientists testify, increases the concentration of atomic radiation in the atmosphere, in the soil and in the water, which already at present creates a serious danger for the health and lives of presently living persons and threatens the normal development of future generations. This danger in the future will increase still more if an end is not placed to experimental explosions of nuclear armament.

At the present time nuclear armament is produced by only three states--the USSR, USA, and Great Britain, and the termination of the tests of this weapon now, when the Soviet Union already has unilaterally terminated its testing, depends upon only two powers--the USA and Great Britain. The Soviet Government expects that the USA and Great Britain will urgently terminate testing this nuclear weapon so that it would be possible to agree at the conference with the participation of the Heads of Government to the consolidation of these decisions of the three powers by corresponding agreements.

Although contemporary technical means for detecting nuclear explosions can record any explosions of atomic and hydrogen armament, no matter where they are carried out, and each interested power can itself oversee the fulfillment by the other partners of the agreement to terminate tests, the Soviet Government again affirms its agreement for establishing international control over the termination of tests of the nuclear weapon with the establishment of international control posts as it proposed already in June 1957. It considers that it will not be difficult to agree to concrete measures for this control as soon as the Governments of the USA and Great Britain also terminate further testing of this weapon. Without this any discussion to investigate questions of control, whether they be on the level of experts or any other level, will inevitably become fruitless discussions and, naturally, will not bring any real results.

To make the termination of tests of atomic and hydrogen armament dependent upon the solution of other questions of disarmament, about which

there...

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

there still exist serious differences and the solution of which is a more complex matter, means in fact the refusal to terminate the tests of atomic and hydrogen armament. Although the termination of tests of nuclear armament already now, without delay, by all powers possessing this weapon will place the member-nations of the Warsaw Pact in an unfavorable position in comparison with the nations of NATO, since the Soviet Union has carried out significantly fewer experimental explosions of the atomic and hydrogen weapon than the USA and Great Britain, nevertheless the Soviet Union has done this to try to make a practical beginning for terminating the race in the field of atomic armaments. The acceptance of this proposal by the United States of America and Great Britain would put an end to tests of atomic and hydrogen armament everywhere and forever.

2. About the rejection of the use of all types of atomic, hydrogen and rocket weapons.

The Soviet Government considers that the achievement of agreement on the universal rejection by the states possessing nuclear weapons--the USSR, the USA and Great Britain--of the use of all types of this weapon, including aviation bombs, rockets of all distances with atomic and hydrogen warheads, atomic artillery, etc., would be an important step in the matter of eliminating the danger of atomic war and the reduction of tension in the relations among states. In case agreement is reached to reject the use of nuclear weapons, any government which would dare to violate this agreement, would unmask itself in the eyes of the peoples as an aggressor, as an enemy of peace.

The important significance of a similar type of agreement is confirmed by historical experience. As is known, the Geneva protocol of 1925 about the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological armament played an important role in the matter of preventing the utilization of these types of armament during the Second World War. In the opinion of the Soviet Government, the decision to reject the use of atomic and hydrogen and rocket armament could be achieved by means of extending the Geneva protocol of 1925 to nuclear and rocket armament.

The Soviet Government considers that the agreement of the powers now at the given stage to reject the use of nuclear and rocket weapons would create auspicious prerequisites for the achievement at the next stage of such measures as the complete and unconditional prohibition of nuclear weapons, the termination of its production with its elimination from the armaments of states and the liquidation of all stores of this weapon.

3. About the creation in Central Europe of a zone, free of atom, hydrogen and rocket weapons.

In Central Europe at the present time two groupings of states oppose each other and there is concentrated a quantity not normal for peacetime

of armed...

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

of armed forces and armaments of various types. This very circumstances only creates a serious threat for peace and it is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that in such a situation, by evil intent or by chance, there can arise the conflagration of a new war with the application of the most modern means of destruction--nuclear and rocket weapons.

In order to exclude the danger of such a development of events, the Soviet Government deems it expedient to examine at the conference the proposal of the Government of the Polish People's Republic about the creation in Europe of a zone free of atom, hydrogen, and rocket weapons, which would include the territories of the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Assumption by these states of the obligation not to produce or to permit the stationing on their territories of nuclear weapons of all possible types and also of sites for the launching of rockets which can bear nuclear warheads. Inasmuch as the Governments of the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, and the German Democratic Republics have already declared their agreement to enter into an atomless zone, the creation of such a zone now depends only on the agreement of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Agreement among the Governments of the USSR, USA, Great Britain, and France on the expediency of the creation of an atomless zone in this region of Europe undoubtedly would facilitate attainment of agreement with the Government of the ~~FRG~~ regarding the adherence of the Federal Republic of Germany to this zone. ~~FRG~~

Agreement on the creation of an atomless zone in Europe will be effective if along with the corresponding obligations of the states included in said zone, the powers having in the armaments of their armies nuclear and rocket weapons for their part would assume an obligation to respect the status of this zone and consider the territory of the states included in it as excluded from the sphere of application of atom, hydrogen, and rocket weapons. As for the Soviet Union it has already declared its readiness to assume the above-noted obligations if the Governments of the US, Great Britain and France do the same.

The obligations of states included within the zone and also the obligations of the great powers could be formulated both in the form of a corresponding international treaty and in the form of corresponding unilateral declarations.

In the...

✓ undoubtedly would contribute to the prevention of the possibility of the rise of military conflicts in the center of Europe.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

In the aim of securing the effectiveness of the obligations and their fulfillment, the interested states would be obligated to establish on the territory of the atomless zone a system of broad and effective control both land and aerial, with the establishment of control points by agreement of the corresponding states. The creation in the center of Europe of an atomless zone would be an important step on the road toward cessation of the dangerous arms race and removal of the threat of atomic war.

4. Non-aggression pact.

Striving to further the lessening of international tension, the Soviet Government considers that it would answer the interests of cessation of the "cold war" and the arms race to conclude in one or another form a pact (or agreement) on non-aggression between states-members of the North Atlantic Treaty and states taking part in the Warsaw Treaty. Conclusion of such a pact would be an important step on the road toward creation of an all-European system of security, strengthening mutual trust and co-operation among states.

If the Western powers display a desire to conclude such a pact or agreement, then, in the opinion of the Soviet Government, it would not be difficult to come to an agreement about its form on the basis of a multi-lateral agreement among all countries included in the organization of the Warsaw Pact and in the North Atlantic Alliance, or among certain countries belonging to these groupings, or, finally, in the form of agreements on non-aggression on a bilateral basis among participants of these groupings.

The Soviet Government considers that as the basis of such an agreement there must be the mutual renunciation by the contracting parties of the application of force or threat of force and the obligation to resolve disputes which may arise among participants of the agreement only by peaceful means. It ought also to provide for the desirability of mutual consultations of the participants of the agreement in connection with the fulfillment of the obligations, undertaken by them according to the agreement.

Such a pact could be open for the adherence of all other states of Europe in order to facilitate the creation at a later stage of a system of all-European security and the gradual liquidation of existing military-political groupings.

Proposing to conclude a non-aggression pact, the Soviet Government envisages it as the first stage toward a radical improvement of relations among the states included in the North Atlantic Alliance and the organization of the Warsaw Pact, as a prerequisite toward the conclusion at a later stage of a broader treaty on European security.

5. About a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes on the

liquidation...

CONFIDENTIAL

- 5 -

liquidation of foreign military bases on foreign territories, and on international cooperation in the study of outer space.

Scientific-technical progress in the realm of rocket technique poses the question about on which road will the use of the latest scientific achievements go: Will they serve peaceful purposes or will they be used for strengthening the arms race, sharpening the danger of the rise of atomic war?

A real measure, completely excluding the possibility of use of outer space for military purposes and securing application of the tremendous achievements in the creation of rockets and artificial earth satellites exclusively for peaceful purposes, would be the complete and unconditional ban of atomic and hydrogen weapons with their withdrawal from armaments and destruction of supplies. In so far as at the present time this is, as a result of the position of the Western powers, difficult and evidently must be realized at a later stage, the Soviet Government proposes that at the present stage agreement be reached on a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes with the simultaneous liquidation of foreign military bases on foreign territories and in the first place on the territory of the countries of Europe, the Near and Middle East, North Africa. This measure answers to the interests of the security of all states. As for states, on whose territory these military bases are situated, they only will gain from such a decision, for the liquidation of military bases will remove that threat to which they subject themselves by making their territory available for the stationing of foreign military bases.

Guided by these considerations, the Soviet Government proposes to discuss the problem of conclusion of an international agreement on the use of outer space for peaceful purposes which would include the following basic provisions.

A ban on the use of outer space for military purpose and an obligation of states to launch rockets into outer space only in connection with an agreed international program.

Liquidation of foreign military bases on the territory of foreign states, and in the first place in Europe, in the Near and Middle East, in North Africa.

Establishment within the framework of the UN of corresponding international control for realization of the above obligations.

Creation of a UN organ on international cooperation in the study of outer space.

Conclusion of such an agreement would open the road toward broad international

CONFIDENTIAL

- 6 -

international cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space and would initiate joint research by scientists of all countries of the problems connected with the cosmos.

6. About the reduction of the number of foreign troops on the territory of Germany and within other European states.

Consistently aiming at the necessary agreement with other powers, the Soviet Union more than once has introduced concrete proposals on disarmament, and has also carried out a series of unilateral measures for reduction of its own armed forces and armaments, proceeding in this from the view that the other great powers will on their part follow this example. The Soviet Union is an advocate of a radical solution of the problem of disarmament, of a real reduction of the armed forces and armaments of states, of the complete withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territory of European states-members of both military groupings, including Germany, and the liquidation of all foreign military bases on foreign territories.

Inasmuch, however, as the western powers until now do not display a readiness to come to an agreement on all these questions, the Soviet Union proposes at the present stage to start toward the solution of those questions on which there exists complete possibility to attain agreement already at present. The Soviet Government proposes to bring about a gradual reduction of foreign troops on foreign territories and is introducing the proposal, in the nature of a first step, to reduce in the course of 1958 the armed forces of the USSR, US, England, France, and other states having troops on the territory of Germany, by one-third or to any agreed scope. The reduced contingents of these troops must be withdrawn from the territory of Germany to the limits of their own national frontiers.

Question of substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments of states and of the conclusion of an appropriate international agreement with this aim, as well as the full withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territories of the states which are participants in NATO and in the Warsaw Treaty could be discussed at the following stage of the negotiations.

7. About conclusion of a German Peace Treaty.

At a time when all the peoples of Europe, drawn into the war on the side of Hitler Germany, have long been enjoying the fruits of a peaceful status and are building their life independently, the German people are still deprived of the conditions of the peaceful development of their country and equal existence with other peoples. The absence of a peace treaty also has a negative effect on the solution of its all-national task of unifying the country. Besides, lack of solution of questions connected with a peaceful settlement in Germany, is used by those who do not value the fate of peace in Europe, for drawing the western party of Germany into preparation for atomic war.

In these conditions, in the opinion of the Soviet Government, the powers bearing responsibility for the development of Germany along the road of peace must apply their efforts to attain the speediest possible agreement with Germany. Being an advocate of such a settlement, the Soviet

Government confirms its proposal to discuss at a Summit conference the question about the reparation and conclusion of a German Peace Treaty.

Taking into account, however, the attitude shown by the Governments of the US and other western powers toward this proposal, the Soviet Government would be ready at the forthcoming meeting to come to an agreement at least on the first steps in the solution of this question, namely, to agree at the present stage on the basic principles of a German Peace Treaty and the form of its preparation. In this, the Soviet Government proceeds from the view that preparatory work toward conclusion of a German Peace Treaty with the participation of German representatives from the GDR and FRG would give impetus to unification of the efforts of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany toward the aim of their rapprochement and restoration of the unity of the German people.

8. Concerning the prevention of a sudden attack of one state on another.

Inasmuch as it still does not appear possible at the present time to resolve the problem of disarmament in full scope and inasmuch as talk is going on about reaching an agreement regarding partial measures of disarmament, the Soviet Government proposes to resolve the question of the prevention of a sudden attack gradually, in conformity with the character of the steps in the field of disarmament in the first stage. It would be necessary to come to an understanding about the establishment of control posts at railroad junctions, in large ports, and on main highways, as well as about the carrying out of aerial photography in the zone of delimitation of the basic armed forces of the military groupings in Europe, at the present stage in defined limited regions, which will have been acknowledged as the most important from the point of view of the elimination of the danger of sudden attack.

In proposing such an approach to the solution of this problem, the Soviet Government proceeds from the fact that the western powers have recognized the expediency of the Soviet proposal concerning the establishment of control posts as a means of preventing surprise attack. This gives a basis for hoping that the conference can come to an agreement on this question.

The Soviet Government confirms its proposal on the establishment in Europe of a zone of aerial inspection to a depth of 800 kilometers to the East and to the West of the line of delimitation of the armed forces of the military groupings of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

As far as the proposal for the carrying out of aerial photography of East regions or of the whole territory of the USSR and USA is concerned,

this...

CONFIDENTIAL

this question cannot be considered in isolation from the measures for the lessening of international tension and the strengthening of confidence between states, in the first place between the great powers. In the present international situation when the armaments race which is causing tension in the international situation, (and) distrust and suspicion in the relations between states is being concluded, when the "cold war" has imposed its black shadow on the whole international situation, the proposal about reciprocal overflights of the entire territories of both countries is unrealistic. The Soviet Government considers, however, that this measure can be effectuated at the concluding stage of the problem of disarmament, that is, when the question will have been settled concerning the full prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons with their removal from armaments, concerning the considerable reduction of the armed forces and the armaments of states, (and) concerning the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, that is, when relations of confidence between states will actually have been established.

9. Concerning measures for expanding international trade ties.

The Soviet Government considers that at the present time there are entirely realistic opportunities for effectuating a number of measures for expanding international trade ties as the natural and firmest basis of peaceful collaboration between all states independent of the differences of their social systems. For the restoration and expansion of the trade of the Western countries with enormous market of the East, where around a thousand million people live, it is essential above all to eliminate the discrimination and limitations existing up to now which hinder the expansion of international trade.

At the present time as a result of the industrial decline and the reduction of trade a number of Western countries is experiencing serious economic difficulties, the way out from which should also be sought by means of the development of international trade and not by means of the armaments race, (and) the strengthening of economic war and blockade.

As concrete measures for the expansion of international trade, the Soviet Government proposes the adoption of a declaration of the basic principles of international economic collaboration, in which it would be desirable to provide for clauses on the observance of full equality, mutual profit, the inadmissibility of any sort of discrimination in economic and trade relations between states; respect for the sovereign right of each state to dispose of its own wealth and natural resources; mutual assistance and assistance to underdeveloped countries in their economic development without the presentation of any sort of demands of a political, military, or other character incompatible with the national sovereignty of these countries.

The necessity has also matured for the convocation of an international economic

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 9 -

economic conference at which it would be desirable to discuss the question of the further development of international trade on a long-term basis so as to establish confidence and stability between trading countries; as well as the question of the creation in the framework of the UN of an international trade organization open to all countries.

It would also be essential to discuss real questions like the rational utilisation of world economic resources and the granting of help to under-developed countries. For granting such help, it would be possible to find an additional source of funds in the reduction of expenditures for armaments.

10. Concerning the development of ties and contacts between countries

The Soviet Government attributes great significance to the development of international contacts and stands immutably for the development of contacts between East and West. The establishment of broader political, economic and cultural ties between countries, independent of their social system, on the basis of a mutual respect of sovereign rights and non-interference in their internal affairs corresponds to the real vital interest of the peoples, (and) helps the strengthening of friendship and business-like collaboration between them. This is confirmed, in particular, by the successful completion of bilateral negotiations and the signing in Washington of a Soviet-American agreement in the field of culture, technology and education, as well as by the successful collaboration of the scientists of many countries on the program of the International Geophysical Year.

The Soviet Government also attributes important significance to the arranging and expanding of systematic personal contacts between state and public personalities of the countries of the East and West for an exchange of opinions on current international questions. The expansion of such ties and contacts in the near future could be realized by means of the reciprocal exchange of parliamentary delegations and of delegations of public organizations; the reciprocal exchange of delegations of scientific and technical, and cultural workers; the reciprocal exchange of artists, theater collectives, symphony orchestras, etc.; the reciprocal exchange of scientific and technical literature and documentation, including designs and blueprints of machines and equipment, (and) the description of technological processes and other things; free access to industrial exhibitions; reciprocal exchange of students, professors, and university delegations; every kind of encouragement of tourism, sports ties, etc.

11. Concerning the cessation of propaganda of war, enmity, and hatred among peoples.

Notwithstanding the fact that ten years have already passed since the adoption in October 1947 of the decision of the General Assembly of the UN on the prohibition of war propaganda, this unanimous decision of

the Assembly...

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

- 10 -

the Assembly is not being carried out in a number of countries. The thought of the unavoidability of a new war is being continuously instilled in the peoples in these countries in the press, on radio, television, and with the help of other means; the necessity of a race of nuclear armaments and of a further increase of military budgets and taxes on the population is being argued.

There is no doubt that with the presence of good will and the mutual wish of all the participants of the conference at the highest level, it would not be difficult to come to an understanding on the question of the cessation of war propaganda and the carrying on instead of propaganda of friendship among the peoples.

The resolution of this question could be achieved by means of the adoption of a joint declaration in which the governments who are the participants of the conference would confirm their intention strictly to carry out the decision of the UN General Assembly of October 1947 concerning the prohibition of all kinds of war propaganda inimical to the cause of peace and mutual understanding and would pledge themselves to adopt effective measures for the suppression of such propaganda in their own countries.

12. Concerning means for reducing tension in the region of the Near and Middle East.

In recent years in the region of the Near and Middle East there have periodically sprung up breeding places fraught with dangerous international conflicts capable of leading to the breach of the general peace. With the aim of reducing tension in the Near and Middle East, it is necessary to create confidence for the countries of that region that any breach of the peace in the region of the Near and Middle East on the part of any aggressive forces whatsoever will be decisively condemned and stopped. One of the measures could be a joint declaration of the powers condemning the use of force in the settlement of contentious questions in the Near and Middle East and interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region. It would also be possible to come to an understanding on the reciprocal obligations of the countries which are participants of the conference not to deliver weapons to the countries of the Near and Middle East, and also not to place nuclear and rocket weapons in those countries.

Considering the economic difficulties being experienced by the countries of the Near and Middle East, and their aspiration to consolidate their independence, the necessity arises of also considering the question of economic collaboration with the countries of the Near and Middle East, especially in the field of assistance for the creation in them of a national industry, proceeding in this from the principles of full equality and mutual profit without the presentation to them of any political, military, or other conditions whatsoever, incompatible with the principles of independence and sovereignty.

CONFIDENTIAL

-11-

The Soviet Government is convinced that goodwill and willingness to seek mutually acceptable solutions with due account being taken of the interests of the parties would be capable of ensuring the success of a Conference at the Summit and of creating the necessary shift in the development of the international situation in the interest of strengthening peace among nations.